564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with [751] whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the [837] Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

[726] Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

564 They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 426 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 454 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd enough to repay them one day.

436 The ideal medium of exchange is the [492] salt which abounds in the Sahara and which is totally lacking in the Sudan. 439 Thus we see a caravan cycle spread out over a whole year and thousands of kilometers. This is all the more viable /sic/ for the Ihaggaren since it makes use of their many camels which otherwise might remain unused in part.

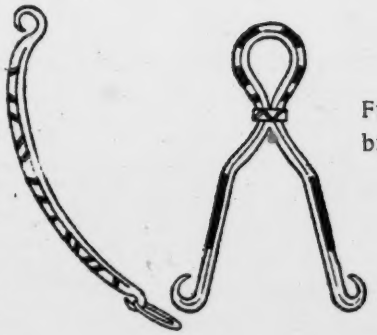

Fig. 22. Camel bit (detail).

317 The starting point is naturally the salt [415] deposit. The mine /219/ is open; one need only detach the salt in pieces and place it in leather bags to transport it. This labor is kept for the Iklan, who arrive at the salt deposits during the summer and [492] stay there from three weeks to a month. Each camel owner operates at will, and transports the salt to his camp after extracting it.

Fig. 23. Device for attaching the camel's bridle.

439 Toward mid-September, all the 484 caravaneers gather together by tribes. Soon they leave their families in the Ahaggar and take the long route [487] for the Sudan, crossing the Tanezrouft. Thus one may see caravans of 100 to 150 camels, but rarely more, for the pasture grounds would not allow it. The arrival in the Sudan must occur after the rainy

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

233 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/
422 the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar,
233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place
[137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis
[174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or
574 in their area of influence.
262
237 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

233 The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence, as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihaggaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with
[232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

136 The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

291 489 /265/ Clothes, except for the gandurah made of cotton bands, are made of material imported from Europe. This material, called chêga, is heavily dyed with indigo, giving it a very dark gloss; it [556] is the favorite material of Tuareg men and women, but it is replaced by ordinary cloth among less well-off people.

Veils are manufactured in English Nigeria, in the village of Koura near the large city of Kano. They are made by assembling [435] a multitude of little cloth bands. They are very expensive and can cost from three to five goats, depending on the quality. In [177] Hausa language they bear the name toukourdi, which has been [436] adopted by the Tuareg. For a long time they have served as exchange currency for commercial transactions.

291 174 It has been asked many times why the Tuareg were led to veil their faces. Hygiene, which has often been mentioned, and the need to protect their respiratory tracts against sandstorms, are not sufficient reasons to explain this practice. There is something else, a /266/ very ancient enigmatic custom whose origin is lost in the night of time and which is kept up without their really knowing why. It is so deep rooted among the Tuareg, however, that they cannot conceive of a self-respecting man who can forego wearing the veil.

The headless men and acephalous people of ancient authors certainly owed their cognomen only to this very peculiar custom of hiding their faces, a custom which must have already existed in this remote epoch. One can only construct hypotheses on the origin of this veil.

We know through Ibn Khaldoun that the wearing of the veil was in general use among the peoples who inhabited the Atlantic coast and adjacent countries in the fourth century. This establishes that the custom is very ancient.

In the rock paintings from prehistoric or protohistoric times which have been discovered in the central Sahara in the last few years, we have noted the very peculiar method of representing the

coins were for a long time the money standard in all of Central Africa. (1) Copper is chiefly furnished by cartridge cases, and iron by abandoned

1. The Maria Theresa dollar was introduced into Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century by navigators

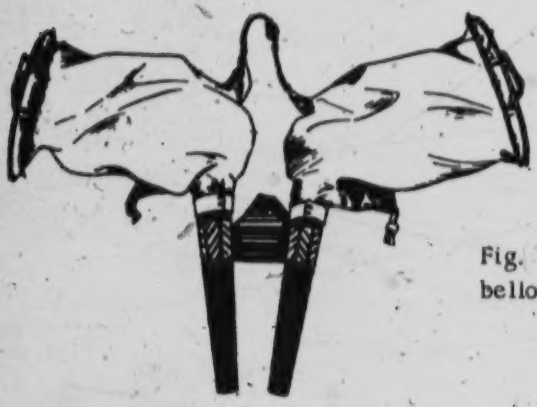

Fig. 49. Double forge bellows.

and traders who visited the Gulf of Guinea. With the iron bar, it became the basis of commercial exchange, and it was circulated in the interior of West Africa as well as in Abyssinia.

scraps of old carriages, auto springs, sheet metal, tin cans, etc.

Aluminum, which is beginning to penetrate into the Niger region, is not yet utilized in the Ahaggar. So far the pipes and guys left to the four corners of the desert by wrecked airplanes have served only to make tent poles.

489 Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years,
[497] is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Adrar des Iforas and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

437 In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah
435 was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 guecaa of dates. A dokkali, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

436 The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have
[177] never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with
[825] toukourdi, the band of material serving as a veil, and with kori (Cypraea moneta), a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean.

648 Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number
439 of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more
[205] extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*233 [137]

Fig. 13. Goats of the long-haired northern breed. The animals are emaciated and feed on acacias which are almost leafless owing to severe drought. Ahaggar 1955, the *Tayṣaḳ* tribe.

points of which turn slightly inward and forward. He-goats of both breeds generally have strong oblique horns of screw-form. Both in Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and in Ayr there are in most flocks one or two goats which are born hornless.

*233 436

Although goats are bred intensively by the Tuareg they take little interest in these animals. Before the arrival of the French, goats formed the most important currency and, though money has now come into general use, they are still used in payment as for example, to the blacksmiths for the making of bracelets, weapons, and various implements. In Ahaggar goats are also used for certain payments to the *Amenukal* from his vassals, such payments being known as *ẖḍrḍ*. This word, which is also common in Ayr, means literally "a big flock of goats" (or sheep), but it may equally well be translated as "fortune" or "money".

*233 192

Owing to the practical importance of goat-breeding there are a great many terms to designate the animals according to sex, age, and various characteristics. In Ahaggar there are the following age-terms:—

Age	*Female*	*Male*
New-born kid	*amaṛwa*	
Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns	*tṛeyḍet*	*ṛeyḍ*
Weaned kid with horns, and of bigger growth than above	*tazzift*	*azzif*
Weaned kid	*tabunkelut*	*abunkelu*
Animal not yet fully grown	*tabulek*	*abuleg*
Animal not yet fully grown	*tadawalt*	*adawal*
Fully grown animal	*tiṛse* (pl. *ulli*)	*akulay*
Fully grown animal	*tayat*	

(The common term for a fully grown goat in Ayr; it is used occasionally also in Ahaggar).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

These terms are used frequently in discussions of prices. Thus a blacksmith will claim that the price of an axe is *ebuleg* (*adawal*) while for the manufacture of smaller objects or for certain repairs he will only claim *sezzif* or *dreyd*.

By the combination of age and colour terms, if necessary with the addition of a covering to certain other characteristics, the Tuareg are able to describe the exact appearance of any animal. Goat-terms have a practical value in enabling the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. A few of the terms indicating colour and other characteristics in Ahaggar are mentioned below:—

Characteristics	*Female*	*Male*
Black animal	*taseffefut*	*aseffefu*
Red animal	*tizeggeɣ*	*izeggeɣ*
Black animal with a red belly	*takahamit*	*akahami*
Animal white on the hind part, and black on the fore-part of the body	*tigehé*	(No term for males which never have this combination of colours)
Black animal with white colour on the lower part of the legs	*tazeburt*	*azbur*
Black animal with a white blaze (Foucauld, 1951–52, III p. 1194 f., states that this term is used for horses, donkeys, camels, and oxen, but he does not mention goats and sheep)	*tamulast*	*amulas*
Black animal with white colour on the ears	*tahreyt*	*ahrey*
Animal of any colour having very small ears	*tadeɣmak*	*adeɣmag*
Animal of any colour having no horns	*tabiyawit*	*abiyawi*

Fig. 16. A flock of southern, short-haired goats during migration. The woman seen in the middle of the picture rides an ox loaded with arches of a barrel-vaulted mat tent. From Demerga south of Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

	Age			*Colour*	
10	*ilγad*, or *chét awétay*	(one year old)	10	*tibeyleγin*	(white)
10	*tilusin*	(2 years old)	10	*tiłaγin*	(mahogany)
10	*teššenifaklen*	(3 years old)	10	*tizeggeγin*	(reddish)
10	*tiruyar*	(4 years old)	10	*tibhawin*	(reddish brown)
10	*chét essin*	(5 years old)	10	*tilemlaγin*	(grey)
10	*chét okkuz*	(6 years old)	10	*tizerifin*	(metallic grey)
10	*timessedas*	(7 years old)	10	*timengelin*	(dark grey)
10	*chét tahalt*	(8 years old)	10	*tikewelin*	(black)
20	*tireggamin*	(more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old)	10	*tizerrafin*	(piebald)
			10	*thwinaγin*	(white cornea)

233 822 *492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 852 545 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

Text continues on p. 104